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Soviet servicemen respond with selfless military labor to the concern of the party and people and the working people's love and trust. In circumstances as close as possible to those of combat, they act boldly and resolutely, like frontline men. And when the motherland asks it, they accomplish real feats. The socialist competition which has become widespread in the Army and Navy under the slogan "Be on the alert, in constant readiness to defend the gains of socialism!" is vivid evidence that the servicemen of the eighties are worthily continuing the combat relay handed down by their fathers and grandfathers.

The feats of the Great Patriotic War heroes represent invaluable spiritual wealth for us, an inexhaustible source of pride and inspiration. That is why Victory Day does not mean merely looking to the past. By resurrecting the memory of the terrible war years, people of all generations in our country become accustomed to the heroic revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the Communist Party and the Soviet people.

At the same time, the Soviet people never forget what that victory cost. More than 20 million of our motherland's sons and daughters gave their lives for it. "The Party Central Committee and the Soviet Government understand their supreme responsibility to the people. June 1941 will never be repeated," K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, noted in his speech to workers at the Serp i Molot plant. "Immediate retribution awaits any aggressor. Let everyone be aware of that -- our friends and our enemies."

The Communist Party, the Soviet Government, and all our people are profoundly sure that a new world war is not inevitable, and can be averted. This certainty rests on the Leninist foreign policy, the growing economic and defense might of the Soviet Union and the whole community of socialist countries, the active policy of other peace-loving states, and the resolute peace struggle of the very broad masses of the people. We greet our noteworthy festival -- Victory Day -- in this certainty.

## Ogarkov Interview

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[Interview with MSU N.V. Ogarkov, chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister: "The Defense of Socialism: Experience of History and the Present Day" -- first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45 is being celebrated widely and solemnly in our country today. On the eve of this great and resplendent holiday, the editorial office of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA asked Marshal of the Soviet Union N.V. Ogarkov, chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister, to answer a number of questions connected with the defense of socialism's gains.

Question: What were the main military-political consequences of and the chief natural laws governing the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45? What impact did it have on the course of world development?

Answer: The victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War has gone down in history as one of the most important sociopolitical and military events of the 20th century, marking the start of a new stage of the development of world history.

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The chief result of the war is that an attempt by the reactionary forces of imperialism to bar the way to socialism's development by force of arms, and to destroy, or at least to weaken, the socialist state failed utterly. V.I. Lenin's prophetic conclusion that "a people in which the majority of workers and peasants have learned, felt, and seen that they are upholding their own, soviet power -- the power of the working people -- will never be vanquished..." was confirmed. Our victory convincingly proved the mighty vital strength of the socialist system. At the same time, it was a death sentence for fascism -- as an ideology and as a political system.

Imperialism emerged from World War II significantly weakened, having yielded many of its positions. The positions of socialism became stronger and the Soviet Union's prestige increased. The USSR's victory exerted a profound influence on the life of millions and millions of people in all parts of the globe and gave rise to a rapid upsurge in the revolutionary and national liberation movement. Socialism developed beyond the confines of a single country. The world socialist system was formed. A number of countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America embarked firmly on a path with a socialist orientation. The war showed graphically that the Soviet Union is the most reliable defender of world civilization and the mouthpiece of the interests of social progress and democracy.

Our victory was profoundly natural. The victory was organized and inspired by the Communist Party headed by its combat headquarters -- the Leninist Central Committee. Armed with a progressive scientific theory -- Marxism-Leninism -- and many years' experience of leading the country, the party assumed full responsibility for the fate of the socialist fatherland and in a very short time brought into play all the material and spiritual forces of society. In the very grave conditions of 1941, it boldly headed the struggle of the Soviet people against the fascist invaders, and in 1945 led it to the great victory in the war -- the fiercest war in the history of mankind.

Victory in the Great Patriotic War was ensured by the selfless labor of the Soviet people on the front and in the rear, and by the invincible might of the Army and Navy. Created and nurtured by the Communist Party, and firmly united with the people, the Soviet Armed Forces surpassed the armies of the fascist bloc in all respects, above all in the morale and combat qualities of the personnel. Soviet military science and military art demonstrated their indisputable superiority over the military science and military art of the fascist bloc. During the war, Soviet troops carried out dozens of strategic operations and hundreds of operations at the level of fronts and armies, which graphically attested to the unparalleled heroism of Soviet soldiers, partisans, and members of the underground, to the combat maturity of the commanders and political workers, and to the unsurpassed talent of Soviet military leaders.

Soviet military art put into practice an idea formulated before the war, that of the deep operation. During fierce battles, its main theses were successfully implemented and many new problems were elaborated: the organization and conduct of strategic offensive operations by groups of fronts; the skillful choice of salients for the main assaults in light of political, economic, and military factors; the transition within a short time from strategic defense to a counteroffensive and the development of that counteroffensive without respite until it becomes a general strategic offensive; the precise coordination during operations of the efforts of all branches of the Armed Forces and categories of troops in order to achieve the set operational and strategic objectives; the rapid training and skillful utilization of strategic reserves; and other issues.

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A great role in the attainment of victory over the enemy was played by the high level of organization and the practical activity of the Supreme High Command Headquarters headed by I.V. Stalin and his deputies G.K. Zhukov and A.M. Vasilevskiy, as well as the Supreme High Command Headquarters' main control organ -- the General Staff.

There is another result that I would like to mention. The last war revealed to the peoples of the whole world the true culprit behind aggression -- imperialism -- and raised with the utmost acuteness the question of the impermissibility of another, even bloodier world conflict. The results of the last war are a stern warning to militarists and newfound aspirants to world domination. "There will be no repetition of June 1941," K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said at his meeting with the workers of Moscow's Serp i Molot Metallurgical Plant. "Immediate retribution will overtake any aggressor. Let everyone realize that -- both our friends and our foes."

Question: In recent years, U.S. imperialism has openly proclaimed a policy of "destroying socialism as a social system." What could be said in this regard in light of the lessons of the last war?

Answer: Let us speak plainly: A desire on the part of imperialism to destroy socialism is nothing new. As early as immediately after the Great October Socialist Revolution in our country, the United States, Britain, France, Japan, and other capitalist countries pooled their efforts in a "crusade" against the world's first worker-peasant state. However, these insidious plans were not destined to be realized. In the extremely difficult conditions of the civil war, the young Red Army utterly routed not only the White Guard hordes, but also the crack troops of the 14 interventionist states.

However, even after that hostile schemes against the USSR continued to be nurtured in the imperialist world. This was confirmed with frank cynicism back in 1931 by U.S. President Hoover, who declared that "his [as published] aim is to destroy the USSR." As a result of the intrigues of the enemies of peace and socialism, the stormclouds of world war again loomed over Europe in the late thirties. Although the Soviet Union, loyal to the Leninist peace-loving foreign policy, repeatedly put forth a number of important proposals aimed at collectively curbing fascist aggression, it was not possible to avert it. The main reason for this was that the Governments of the United States, Britain, and France were thinking more not about creating a barrier to fascism's aspirations toward world domination, but about that same old "crusade" against socialism, and were doing their utmost to direct fascist aggression toward the East. But things went wrong. The conflagration of World War II first enveloped their own homes. This compelled the Western powers to embark on the anti-Hitler alliance with the USSR. But even then they did not abandon their enmity toward the socialist system and yearned for just one thing -- that the Soviet Union should reach the end of the war at its last gasp, at the limit of its strength and potential, so that they could dictate their will to it in the postwar years. This contains the answer to the question of why the second front in Europe was opened not in 1942, nor yet in 1943, but only in the middle of 1944, when the fate of Hitler's Germany had essentially already been decided as a result of the Soviet Armed Forces' crushing blows.

The Soviet Union, despite the predictions made by its foes, passed the extremely difficult trials with honor and emerged victorious from the war. Another attempt by world imperialism to eliminate the first socialist state had failed.

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Lenin's famous words had been completely borne out: "...Our cause is firm...regardless of the attempts to invade Russia and the military ventures against Russia, and there will probably be several such attempts, we...know that all these attempts will come to naught. After each attempt by our enemies, we will emerge stronger than before." Those words of Lenin's certainly fully retain their significance today. Imperialism is incapable of stopping, much less reversing, the course of history. Socialism is firmly established and there is now no force capable of stopping its victorious march around the world. The revolutionary gains of the socialist community countries are now reliably guarded by the Warsaw Pact Organization, the socialist countries' military-political defensive alliance.

At the same time, history teaches that only collective efforts by peoples and countries can prevent war and resolutely curb the warmongers. The events of the last war, of the period preceding it, and of our time teach the peoples of the globe to be vigilant, to rally together even more closely, and to take vigorous action against the war preparations of the forces of imperialism and reaction headed by the United States.

Question: What is most indicative in the U.S. military preparations and what is the Soviet Union doing to relax tension and prevent a new world war?

Answer: This question is organically linked with the previous one. There is indeed a perturbing situation in the world today. In an attempt to halt the positive processes objectively taking place in the world at any price, the forces of imperialism and reaction have sharply toughened their aggression. This has been particularly clearly manifested since the early eighties, with the advent to power in the United States of the Reagan administration which, through the President himself, has declared a new "crusade" against socialism.

To all appearances, the lessons of previous similar campaigns have failed to benefit some people across the ocean. Indeed, not only across the ocean. Revanchist neofascist organizations which, as on the eve of World War II, are again galvanizing their activity, strenuously kindling national and racial hostility among the population, propagandizing the slogans of a "greater [velikaya] Germany," and strenuously calling for the restoration of the German Reich within its "historical borders," have been raising their voices increasingly recently at various gatherings in the FRG and West Berlin with the obvious connivance and even direct participation of official authorities. It looks as though the fascist holdouts who have survived since the war and the reactionary imperialist forces are not abandoning their hopes of again attempting to try the strength of our defense and are openly leading matters toward material preparations for a new world war. Colossal sums are being spent on this. In the forthcoming fiscal year, for instance, U.S. military appropriations will be over \$313 billion.

At the same time, the United States, under cover of verbose phraseology about its love of peace, is implementing a broad program for building up tension and destabilizing the world situation. That is borne out by the direct, truly predatory, piratical actions by the United States and its minions against sovereign states, as has been the case in Lebanon, Angola, Grenada, and Nicaragua. According to figures from the Brookings Institute, in the past 6 years alone, the United States has undertaken armed actions against sovereign states or threatened them with the use of force on almost 40 occasions.

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Here the United States' unrestrained development and stockpiling of nuclear arms, available stocks of which already exceed many times over any military requirements, pose a special threat to peace. The further race in these arms is becoming increasingly dangerous.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government, as is well known, have frequently stated and continue to state the need to halt the senseless arms race and their unvarying devotion to peace-loving Leninist foreign policy principles, which for the seventh decade now have not been subject to any whims of expediency. The Peace Program for the Eighties and the numerous peace initiatives put forward in recent years by the Soviet Union serve as graphic confirmation of this. They are aimed primarily at resolving key, burning problems of the present day -- the relaxation of international tension, the resolute curbing of the arms race, and the reduction of nuclear arms right up to their total destruction and, as a result, the prevention of a new war and the preservation of peace.

Steering a firm course toward the preservation of peace and the safeguarding of the peoples' security, our party and government at the same time realistically assess the repeated manifestations of adventurism and the aggressive preparations which imperialism is actually undertaking. That is why they pay unrelenting constant attention to consolidating the country's defense capability and raising the Soviet Armed Forces' combat readiness. In his speech at the CPSU Central Committee April (1984) Plenum, Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, confirmed the unshakability of the Soviet state's Leninist foreign policy course and stressed that "the present situation requires us to make constant, all-around efforts to safeguard the country's security and ensure the reliable defense of the Soviet people's peaceful labor." This demand must be unconditionally fulfilled.

Question: It is nearly 40 years since the Great Patriotic War. What changes have taken place in military matters in that time, and how are they taken into account in our military building, in the training of troops and fleets?

Answer: In his time, F. Engels discovered an objective law: "Nothing depends on economic conditions as much as the Army and Navy. Armaments, personnel, organization, tactics, and strategy depend, above all, on the level of production achieved at a given moment and on the means of communication," and "successes of technology, the moment they have become usable and have been applied in practice in military matters, have immediately -- almost forcibly, and often against the will of the military command -- caused changes and even revolutions in the methods of waging war."

In present-day conditions, this law is manifested with particular force. In the postwar years, several generations of weapons systems and combat hardware have already succeeded one another.

What do the basic changes in military matters consist of today?

First, the quantitative accumulation of nuclear weapons, which has continued over several decades, has led to radical qualitative changes in the conditions and potential for the use of these weapons. The stockpiles of nuclear ammunition and various means of delivery that the sides created have reached such a size and quality that they are sufficient to destroy all the important targets on enemy territory many times over in a short space of time.

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For instance, in just one salvo (launch) of strategic (not counting battlefield) nuclear forces, the United States could today use about 12,000 nuclear charges with a total yield hundreds of times greater than the yield of all the explosives and ammunition used by all states throughout the 6 years of World War II. With the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe, this potential of U.S. strategic nuclear forces will further increase. You do not have to be a military man or a scientist to realize that a further buildup is becoming senseless. Nonetheless, this buildup is continuing, through the fault of the United States.

As a result, a paradox arises: On the one hand, it would seem, a process of steadily increasing potential for the nuclear powers to destroy the enemy is taking place, while on the other there is an equally steady and, I would say, even steeper reduction in the potential for an aggressor to inflict a so-called "disarming strike" on his main enemy. The point is, with the quantity and diversity of nuclear missiles already achieved, it becomes impossible to destroy the enemy's systems with a single strike. A crushing retaliatory strike against the aggressor, even by the limited quantity of nuclear charges remaining to the defender -- a strike inflicting unacceptable damage -- becomes inevitable in present conditions. The calculation of the strategists across the ocean, based on the possibility of waging a so-called "limited" nuclear war, now has no foundation whatever. It is utopian: Any so-called limited use of nuclear facilities will inevitably lead to the immediate use of the whole of the sides' nuclear arsenal. That is the terrible logic of war. Their arguments about the possibility of a so-called "limited nuclear strike without retaliation" against the enemy's main centers and control points are even more groundless. Such arguments are pure fantasy. Put together, all this substantially changes both the conditions for the outbreak of modern warfare and the potential for waging it.

Second, rapid changes in the development of conventional means of destruction and the emergence in the developed countries of automated reconnaissance-and-strike complexes, long-range high-accuracy terminally guided combat systems, unmanned flying machines, and qualitatively new electronic control systems make many types of weapons global and make it possible to sharply increase (by at least an order of magnitude) the destructive potential of conventional weapons, bringing them closer, so to speak, to weapons of mass destruction in terms of effectiveness. The sharply increased range of conventional weapons makes it possible to immediately extend active combat operations not just to the border regions, but to the whole country's territory, which was not possible in past wars. This qualitative leap in the development of conventional means of destruction will inevitably entail a change in the nature of the preparation and conduct of operations, which will in turn predetermine the possibility of conducting military operations using conventional systems in qualitatively new, incomparably more destructive forms than before.

There is a sharp expansion in the zone of possible combat operations, and the role and significance of the initial period of the war and its initial operations become incomparably greater. A new war, should imperialism unleash it, will certainly be strikingly different in nature from the last war.

Third, the rapid development of science and technology in recent years creates real preconditions for the emergence in the very near future of even more destructive and previously unknown types of weapons based on new physical principles.

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Work on these new types of weapons is already in progress in a number of countries, for example, in the United States. Their development is a reality of the very near future, and it would be a serious mistake not to consider it right now. This, in turn, cannot fail to change established notions of the methods and forms of armed struggle and even of the military might of the state.

This is a short list of only the basic changes currently taking place in the means of armed struggle. They are inevitably exerting their influence on the nature of war and the role and place of the branches of the Armed Forces in resolving operational and strategic tasks and on the further development and improvement of forms and methods of conducting military operations and military affairs as a whole.

All this must unconditionally be the subject of constant and in-depth analysis and must be generalized and taken into account in the practical building of our Armed Forces.

In consideration of this, the technical equipping, organizational building, and management of our Armed Forces are effected in such a way that they are always ready under any conditions to deal an immediate counterstrike against any aggressor. This capability must be guaranteed in all instances. The main component of the combat might of the Army and Navy and the basic factor in curbing the aggressor are our strategic nuclear forces, which are in a state of constant high combat readiness. All branches of the Armed Forces and categories of troops are developing harmoniously with them and are being equipped with the most modern weapons and combat hardware.

There is also a simultaneous process of honing and improving the system of operational, combat, and political training of troops and fleets; the procedure for mobilizing and provisioning them; troop and weapon control systems, and forms and methods of political-educational and party political work.

The Soviet Armed Forces' might is determined by not only the quantity but also the quality of their weapons and combat hardware. Our main strength is the Soviet people, who have an expert mastery of the awe-inspiring weapons entrusted to them by the motherland. Today, over 93 percent of our servicemen have secondary and higher education. Almost 90 percent of the servicemen are Communists and Komsomol members, who are transforming our Army and Navy into an invincible force.

The resolution of the tasks of military building and training of our Armed Forces is effected on the basis of comprehensive, in-depth analysis of the military-political situation and the development of the means of armed struggle. Therefore, our military cadres do not merely copy past experience, they use it creatively and enrich it. They must constantly improve the training and organizational structure of troops and naval forces and conduct scientific quests to this end, taking into account the continuous changes in military affairs and, if necessary, taking justified risks. It is better to test new forms in peacetime than to seek them in the course of a war. Furthermore, there would now be no time for this. We military men must, as Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, points out, "resolutely overcome any conservatism and inertia"; for us in the military "the slogan of the day must be: From a correct idea, fully armed with experience, to bold actions!"

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I would like to emphasize that the defense of the socialist motherland is the concern of every Soviet person, a concern of the entire people. In this connection, work to educate the Soviet people in accordance with revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions and train reliable and skillful defenders of the motherland, and the active participation in this work of our party, labor, war, and Army veterans, are of great importance.

The main source of the Soviet Armed Forces' strength and invincibility and an important condition of their further strengthening and development has always been and remains the leadership of the Communist Party and the unbreakable unity between the Army and the people. The CPSU, its Leninist Central Committee, and our government are doing everything necessary to ensure that the Soviet state's defense potential and its Armed Forces' combat might are abreast of present-day demands and that no eventuality can take us by surprise.

The grim years of the Great Patriotic War are receding further and further into the depths of history. A great deal has changed in the world in the almost 40 years since then. However, time cannot wipe out from the memory of grateful mankind the unparalleled feat of the Soviet people and their Armed Forces who, in an unprecedentedly fierce confrontation with a perfidious enemy, not only defended the socialist fatherland, but also saved the peoples of many countries from fascist enslavement. The memory of the millions of people who gave their lives for the great victory makes it imperative today to rally the forces of the world's peoples in the struggle against the perfidious designs of the forces of imperialism and reaction, against the instigators of a new war. The imperialist pretenders to world domination should not forget that history savagely punishes those who ignore its lessons.

## Yepishev Article

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[Article by Army General A.A. Yepishev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate: "Great Historic Mission"]

[Excerpts] Tomorrow is Victory Day! It is a holiday which is particularly radiant, moving, solemn, and close to the heart of every Soviet person and to millions of people in the world. On this day, the warmest heartfelt words of gratitude are addressed to the war veterans and working people in the rear whose military and labor feats brought victory closer. It was they who defended our motherland's honor, freedom, and independence and socialism's great gains and saved mankind from fascist enslavement. We bow our heads before the bright memory of combat friends who did not return from the battlefield and who paid the ultimate price for a peaceful sky above the earth.

The path to victory was long and difficult. The Great Patriotic War foisted upon the Soviet people by fascist Germany was our people's severest test. Hitler and his entourage set the goal of destroying the Soviet social and state system and Marxism-Leninism -- its spiritual basis -- and of turning millions of Soviet people into their slaves. Everything was put to the test: the economy, policy, ideology, the friendship of the peoples, and the military organization of socialism. But socialism, as the new social system, withstood the grim test with honor and convincingly proved its indisputable advantages and viability.